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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

TRUDEAU'S DESCRIPTION OF THE UPPER MISSOURI

The great war had its effect upon the archives of the government at Washington. In an inconceivably short while after the entry of the United States into the conflict, an extra clerical force made its appearance at the American capital. This force was disproportionately large because of presumable political exigencies. It was a time for the distribution of personal patronage and party spoils unprecedented in the annals of history. Not only swivel-chair men in uniform but likewise superfluous girl stenographers had to be housed in offices, conveniently, comfortably, well, and the archives of the nation suffered in consequence. Documents, so jealously guarded in the past that they were never easy of access to the investigator unless he were possessed of the golden senatorial key, were summarily dislodged from their accustomed repositories and dumped, literally dumped, into new quarters, mostly temporary structures. From the sacred precincts of that architectural monstrosity, the State, War, and Navy building, went records of priceless historical value, among them many of the very oldest of those yet accumulated by this great infant nation of the west. The destination of one portion of the evicted was the commodious Munitions building, constructed of concrete and supposedly fireproof, while that of another was a garage, huge and dusty.

The eviction was not without results. The ruthless process by which it was accomplished broke down old barriers, destroyed old wrappings, and laid bare the secrets of old filings. Among other things it brought to light a curious chest,¹ an old-fashioned

¹ Of the present whereabouts of the chest the writer is not exactly sure. It has been emptied of its contents and they are safe in a steel filing case. Quite probably the chest is the same as that mentioned in the following, which is an extract from a letter addressed to Nicollet by a friend in Nashville, August 12, 1834:

Mon cher Nicollet — Je viens de recevoir votre lettre du 27 juine immediatement apres la reception j'ai ecrit a Madame Stein, qui est a present a Louisville — Mr. Stein a Philad^a ou a le Nouvelle York — elle me vient de repondre, que Mr. Stein vous a attendu depuis le mois de Janvier — etant oblige de quitter la nouvelle Orleann

wooden box, painted dull green. This chest had ordinary iron handles and, withal, a very European look. It bore on one of its shorter sides the magical name of "Nicollet." As to its contents, it was a veritable museum; but those same contents, while various, proved scarcely so rich as anticipation painted. They did not include the long-lost Chouteau journal² nor the missing link³ of the Trudeau journals nor that immense collection of source material of which Henry H. Sibley, in his "Memoir of Jean N. Nicollet," gives intimation.⁴ They were well worth finding, nevertheless, for they did include some things of more than passing

quant la chaleur commence, il a mis la boîte et vos lettres entre les mains de M. News President of the Commercial Bank qui rest toujours a la N. O. avec enjuction de s'informer de votre arrivee etc — de maniere que votres articles sont en bonnes mains mais il ceroint mieux dans les votre — et Mad. Stein va lui faire scavoir, de garder la caisse jusqu au mois de Novembre et ce que vous descrira a l'egard des lettres etc, mais je ne crois pas que Mr. Stein sera long tems avant Novembre a la N. O.—Nicollet chest collection.

² Concerning the purported loan of this journal to Nicollet, see "Chouteau's journal of the founding of St. Louis," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 3:336, note. That Nicollet got materials for his work from the Chouteau family is evidenced by an admission he made himself in his "Sketch of the early history of St. Louis," in *Senate reports*, 26 congress, 2 session, volume 5, part 2, number 237, p. 84. From the title of one of the fragmentary documents found in the Nicollet chest, the material would seem to have included "notes." The title to which reference is made is "Quelques détails sur l'Attaque du fort des Chicassas par Prudhomme; tirés des notes manuscrites de A. Chouteau."

³ That part of the journal which some commentators think must necessarily have been written to cover the period from March 26, 1795, to May 24, 1795. The "First part" of Trudeau's journal, being that extending from June 7, 1794, to March 25, 1795, was discovered in the Archives of the Indies at Seville and edited under the title "Journal of Jean Baptiste Trudeau on the upper Missouri, 'première partie,' June 7, 1794—March 26, 1895," for the *American historical review*, 19:299-333. The "Second part," from May 24, 1795, to July 20, 1795, is to be found among the Territorial papers of the state department, bound in volume 4 of the Claiborne correspondence, Bureau of rolls and library. It was translated a few years ago by Mrs. H. T. Beauregard of the Missouri historical society and was published in the society's *Collections*, 4:9-48. An account of both parts, together with a translation of the major portion of the "First part" and a reproduction of Mrs. Beauregard's edition of the "Second," appeared in the *South Dakota historical collections*, 7:403-474.

⁴ *Minnesota historical collections*, 1: 191. The accuracy of Sibley's intimation is vouched for, to some extent, by the following letter from Lieutenant Colonel J. J. Abert to Nicollet, dated January 11, 1838, in Topographical bureau, Letters issued, 2: 450-451:

As it is really painful to me to keep you in this state of suspence in reference to the acquiring of the geographical matter which you have collected of the country west of the Mississippi, and also very inconvenient to the Office longer to delay the compiling of the map upon which it has been for some time engaged; and being, as I am yet, entirely without any knowledge of the geographical matter which you have collected and consequently without facts upon which a report to the Secretary could

value of which the very existence had apparently been forgotten. The yield comprised documents of both Nicollet and non-Nicollet authorship. Among the former was a scientific miscellany, astronomical observations, geological and botanical notes,⁵ even a tiny herbarium, expedition journals⁶ and fragments of journals, the rough draft, in French, of the "Sketch of the early history of St. Louis,"⁷ and also what appears to be the rejected French original of the "Notes," which were intended to accompany or illustrate the famous Nicollet map. Among the latter were a "Fort Clark journal,"⁸ kept by Francis A. Chardon of the Upper Missouri outfit, 1834-1839; a "Table of distances," prepared by James Mackay in 1797;⁹ a narrative, entitled "Voi-

be founded; with a view of bringing the subject to some definite issue, I will submit a proposition to your consideration.

I therefore propose that you should state to me the extent and character of the Geographical information you possess, when I will without delay, after reference to the secretary, make a positive offer for the same.

I know that your attention has been devoted to more subjects than the one referred to in this letter, but as all we want at present, and all that we are authorized to obtain, is the geographical matter, you will please to understand my proposition is limited to information of that kind.

⁵ No amplification of this idea can here be furnished, for only a very cursory reading of the notes has as yet been made. Suffice it to say that they are unmistakably scrappy and miscellaneous in character.

⁶ A translation of the two journals that seem practically complete has been made and is ready for publication. They relate to the expeditions of 1838 and 1839.

⁷ This promises to clear up the mystery surrounding the extent of Nicollet's literary indebtedness to Auguste Chouteau. It bears a close resemblance to the "Sketch of the early history of St. Louis," attributed to Nicollet and published in *Senate reports*, 26 congress, 2 session, volume 5, part 2, number 237, pp. 75-92, and likewise to the fragmentary Chouteau journal published in *Missouri historical society collections*, 3: 335-366. It is in what seems to be the handwriting of Nicollet; but the information is unquestionably largely of Chouteau origin.

⁸ There cannot, certainly, be a difference of opinion as to the absorbing interest of this document. The facts which it records relative to the ravages of the smallpox epidemic of 1837-1838 among the upper Missouri river tribes are startling. It supplements *Forty years a fur trader on the upper Missouri; the personal narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872*, edited by Elliot Coues (New York, 1898), and is a companion to "The Fort Tecumseh and Pierre journal," cited by Hiram M. Chittenden and published, in part and by way of illustration, in *The American fur trade of the far west; a history of the pioneer trading posts and early fur companies of the Missouri valley and the Rocky mountains and of the overland commerce with Santa Fe* (New York, 1902), 3: 975-983. An early publication of the "Fort Clark journal," so edited as to exhibit its importance for a more complete account of that earliest of frontier industries, is contemplated.

⁹ This, it is hoped, will appear in a subsequent number of the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW. Its possible relation to the map accompanying F. M. Perrin du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes, et chez les nations sauvages du Missouri*

age de Regis Loisel dans le haut Missouri”;¹⁰ “Ramsay Crook’s notes,” being a history in brief of the American fur trade; and, finally, the document here edited, “Description du haut Missouri,” from the pen of “Jean Baptiste Trudeau, voyageur.”

The authenticity of this last-named narrative is scarcely to be questioned. Its vocabulary, its verb forms,¹¹ and many of its (Paris, 1805), will be set forth, it being Frederick J. Teggart’s opinion that the map is substantially of Mackay construction. “Notes supplementary to any edition of Lewis and Clark,” in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1908 (Washington, 1909), 1: 189.

¹⁰ From a penciled inscription on its outside page, the writer is led to infer that some earlier investigator has ventured the suggestion that this may be the so-called “Chouteau journal.” It is the most extensive document in the whole Nicollet collection and, from certain points of view, the one of greatest value. The unnamed author was a trader, dwelling, for the time being, among the Arikara. He seems to have come originally from Montreal and was evidently attached in some capacity to the Loisel expedition of 1803-1804. It is of that expedition that he writes. May he not have been M. Sabeau, Loisel’s “agent and man of affairs,” whom he left with seven others “to continue the undertaking” which had, for the Spanish government, so great a political significance? See Loisel’s memorial, May 28, 1804, in *The Spanish regime in Missouri*, edited by Louis Houck (Chicago, 1909), 2: 359-364. A translation *in extenso* of the document, entitled “Voiage de Regis Loisel dans le haut Missouri,” is being made by Dr. Rose Abel Wright, the writer’s sister, to whose linguistic skill the arduous task of text-deciphering may be safely intrusted.

¹¹ Concerning the philological, syntactical, orthographical, and other peculiarities of the manuscript, a former student of the writer’s, Ethel M. Staley, now instructor in French at Smith college, offers some general observations. She has examined the translation critically and has collated the text here printed with a photostatic copy of the original manuscript. Her observations are thus elaborated:

This is an attempt to describe in a general way the characteristics of the manuscript. It is not an effort to draw scientific conclusions from the language used. The latter aim would necessitate a comparison of this work of Trudeau’s with other documents written under similar conditions and such a study of other private journals has not been undertaken. A description of the penmanship, a comment on the orthography, and a few general remarks on the grammar will constitute the attempt.

Since the formation of the letters is, as a rule, exceedingly clear, any evident hesitancy or variation may be significant in raising the question as to whether this manuscript be in the handwriting of the composer. For example, there is frequent evidence of the letter *s* having been added after the word had been written; e.g. *sauvages nations*. Justification for doubting the originality of the manuscript may be further strengthened by citing the variations of the one word, *castor*. This word appears distinctly as *castore*, *caston*, and *castor*. In one instance, the final *n* of *caston* has been erased partially and an *r* substituted. The penman’s lack of knowledge of the exact word seems a possibility. This type of characteristic is frequent enough to warrant attention, although it cannot be said to be over-abundant. The punctuation is weak in places; but it presents no real impediment to the interpretation of the thought. A too frequent use of capitals characterizes the document and the reader is at a loss to know why certain letters such as *B*, *P*, *C*, *E*, should be favorites for the extra flourish.

When we leave the consideration of the external form and begin to examine the French itself, the orthography claims our attention. Here the principle of modern phonetics is the key to the riddle, although there cannot be said to be any consistency in the spelling of the same word. The vowel combination, *oi*, is regularly used in

phrases are those of the Trudeau journals. Its chirography¹² has the peculiarities of the state département manuscript, the genuineness of which has never been disputed. So pronounced is the similarity that the theory, advanced as a working basis, that the "Description du haut Missouri" may conceivably be the "extracts"¹³ that Jefferson made and transmitted to Meriwether Lewis seems quite untenable.

One other theory is not so easily dismissed. It is the theory that Trudeau prepared this general account of the upper Missouri region for the particular use of Perrin du Lac, who, in writing his *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, borrowed from it

verb forms; but not in words, like *français* and *anglais*, where a similar development prevailed. The latinisms, *c* and *s*, as in *scavent* and *isle*, while not unusual in the French of the time, are a trifle unexpected where the evolution of words has been so greatly sacrificed to their pronunciation. The inconsistency of spelling, as evidenced in the following many attempts to convey the modern *lieues*: *lieux*, *lieu*, *lieues*, *lieïes*, *leïes*, only shows to an exaggerated degree the instability of much of the spelling of Trudeau's day. One of the most interesting examples of an effort to adapt the French vocabulary to the New World need on the phonetic basis is *bled-dinde*, which is evidently an attempt to translate Indian corn as *ble'd'Inde*.

In its sacrifice of grammatical construction, the phonetic principle is certainly over-developed. Especially is this the case in agreements relating to gender and number. Here, too, there is no consistency, *autre bête fauve*, *autres bêtes fauve*, *autres bêtes fauves* all appearing. *Tout* and *tous*, *viennne*, *viennnent* are indifferently used so that the grammatical knowledge of the writer is most certainly to be questioned, schoolmaster though he may have been. Certain adverbial phrases have become for him simple adverbs; for *alabrie*, *alafonte* are distinctly felt to be word units.

The style is decidedly barren. A literary framework recurs again and again, due probably to the inflexible French that has been used and to the very scanty vocabulary.

¹² The similarity of penmanship is especially noticeable in the formation of the letter *s*, both initial and final. In the two manuscripts the long *s* is used very commonly at the beginning of words and is so shaped as to be mistaken easily for a capital letter. The overcapitalization of the documents is not significant, since overcapitalization was a characteristic of the writing of the period. Texture of paper and size of sheet are the same, variation appearing in color only, the paper of the journal being blue, that of the general description, white. There are certain evidences of erasure in the war department document that point to the possibility of its being a copy that was critically passed upon by some one who professed to know more about French syntax and orthography than did the scribe.

¹³ In connection with the press copy of Jefferson's letter to Lewis of November 16, 1803, in the Jefferson papers, series 1, volume 9, number 305, in the library of congress, there is this notation: "Extracts from the Journals of M. Truteau, Agent for the Illinois Trading Company, residing at the village of Ricara, up the Missouri." This would seem to warrant the idea that the "information," which Jefferson told Lewis he had himself "obtained from Printeau's journal in Ms.," was couched in the form of extracts, and to this Jefferson's letter of January 22, 1804, bears witness. See *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, 1804-1806*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (New York, 1904-1905), 7: 281, 292. Later on, Jefferson sent to Lewis "a translation of that journal in full," but with that, since the document under discussion is in French, we are not concerned.

largely and almost verbatim.¹⁴ It was most certainly prepared subsequent to 1795; for it suggests, incidentally, where Trudeau was in the midsummer of that year.¹⁵ Now Du Lac had with him on his memorable journey to the White river "*un ancien traiteur de la rivière des Illinois*" to whose papers he undoubtedly had liberal access.¹⁶ That *ancien traiteur* was very likely Jean Baptiste Trudeau and not James Mackay as Teggart is persuaded.¹⁷

¹⁴ The proof of this will appear, as occasion calls for it, in the later footnotes to the edited text.

¹⁵ The complete ignorance on this matter has been commented upon thus: "The journal closes as abruptly as it began on July 20th. No record has been found of Trudeau's further operations on the Upper Missouri. It has been assumed that he remained with the Arikara in the summer of 1795 until the boats from St. Louis arrived, when he went to the Mandans and spent the winter with them." "Trudeau's journal," in *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 410. In the "Second part" of his journal, Trudeau relates the unwillingness of the young Arikara braves to entertain thoughts of peace with the less well-known but pacifically-inclined tribes, the Kiowa and their neighbors, who dwelt in the country toward the southwest. Some Cheyenne chiefs had come with a message of peace and, when the young Arikara proved obstinate and obdurate, Trudeau himself proposed that he and Crazy Bear, a peaceable Arikara chief, should accompany the Cheyenne messengers on their return journey. His diary does not record that they actually went; but the "Description du haut Missouri" says, "Lorsque je fus en parol chez la nation Chaguienne dan le Cour de Leté mil sept Cent quatrevingt quinze ou je vis et parlai a plusieurs Chefs et considérés des nations Tocaninanbiche et Cayouuas." It is therefore certain that the trip to the Cheyenne country and beyond was made. Most probably it was followed by a visit of no short duration.

¹⁶ In regard to the preparation for the river voyage, Du Lac has this to say:

Curieux tout à la fois de connoître par moi-même les moeurs de ces nations non civilisées et leur manière de traiter avec les Blancs; je chargeai une longue pirogue de tout ce qui pouvoit leur être utile, et pris à mon service un ancien traiteur de la rivière des Illinois, qui avoit des connoissances supérieures à celles qu'ont ordinairement les gens de cette espèce. Employé autrefois par la Compagnie du haut Missouri, il avoit remonté cette rivière plus haut qu'aucun autre dans le pays, et avoit passé plusieurs années au milieu de ces peuples, dont il avoit appris les divers dialectes. Il m'a communiqué, sur leurs moeurs, leurs usages et leurs cérémonies, des observations curieuses; et c'est à lui que je dois en grande partie les détails que je donnerai bientôt.

Ce fut pendant son séjour dans les postes les plus éloignés, que le roi d'Espagne promit des récompenses aux traiteurs qui lui donneroient, sur des nations jusqu'alors inconnues, les renseignemens les plus intéressans. Il redoubla d'activité et de travail pour mériter la confiance des autorités supérieures, présenta des mémoires d'une utilité réelle; mais ses peines ainsi que celles de tous ceux qui l'avoient imité, furent entièrement perdues. Ce gouvernement n'en a profité, ni pour l'amélioration de son commerce, ni pour l'instruction publique. Tous ces mémoires sont restés dans les archives, dont je les ai tirés moi-même pour en extraire les parties les plus essentielles. Peut-être cet extrait servira-t-il un jour au gouvernement François, à son commerce, au à l'homme qui aime à lire dans le grand livre de la Nature.—*Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 196-197.

¹⁷ "Notes supplementary to any edition of Lewis and Clark," in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1908, volume 1, pp. 188-189. It can be stated with a certain degree of positiveness that there is nothing in Du Lac's reference to the *ancien traiteur* that would not apply equally well to Trudeau as to Mackay and, with

Du Lac's *ancien traiteur* knew the Illinois country as did Trudeau, who had come to St. Louis from Canada in 1774¹⁸ and who confessed, in 1795, that for over twenty-six years he had been making trips into the interior.¹⁹ He could converse with various of the Indian tribes and knew even the Sioux tongue passably.²⁰ Mackay came to Missouri in 1793.²¹ There is nothing in the Perrin du Lac narrative that resembles closely any known work of his. He was a man in his prime at the time Du Lac went up the Missouri, being a little past forty years of age. Trudeau was his senior by about ten years. Neither one of them was an old man; but the *ancien traiteur* was doubtless old only in experience.

Both Mackay and Trudeau were employees of the company that was formed,²² in 1794, for the exploration and exclusive trade of the upper Missouri and both had certainly journeyed far up the stream. Mackay knew more than did Trudeau about the country beyond the Mandan. His knowledge of the Assiniboin was much more intimate and, while still a resident of Canada, he had made an expedition to the river Catapoi, a tributary of the Assiniboine.²³ This was in the early part of 1787. He had likewise journeyed southwestward from below the Missouri and, the evidence of this new Trudeau manuscript brought into the argument, the case is much stronger for Trudeau than for Mackay.

¹⁸ "Journal of Jean Baptiste Trudeau among the Arikara Indians in 1795," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 15.

¹⁹ "Trudeau's journal," in *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 469.

²⁰ For evidence that he could converse with the Omaha, see *ibid.*, 434. The conduct of the Omaha for years past was no secret to him. He had visited the Sioux before 1794, the Yankton in particular, and some Sioux women recognized him as a trader they had known on the Des Moines, a circumstance that would account for his familiarity with their language. *Ibid.*, 416-417, 421, 425, 439.

²¹ He is thought to have come to America from Scotland in 1776 and to Missouri from Canada in 1793. See "Journal of Trudeau," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 20, note 22. The journey which he says he took in 1787 to the country of the Mandan had its start evidently in Canada. "Extracts from Capt. McKay's journal," edited by Milo M. Quaife, in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings*, 1915, p. 192. He was an employee of the Northwest company and might, it is conceded, have been one of those traders who went, under its auspices, "for trade in the region towards the Illinois and Mississippi rivers." Gordon C. Davidson, *The North West company* (University of California, *Publications in history*, volume 7 — Berkeley, 1918), 28, note 98.

²² For the articles of incorporation and other matters relating to the organization, see *The Spanish regime in Missouri* (Houck, ed.), 2: 148-159.

²³ "Extracts from Capt. McKay's journal" (Quaife, ed.), in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings*, 1915, pp. 191-192.

on the Perrin du Lac map, his route thither in 1796 is plainly traced.²⁴ Du Lac's westward wanderings extended only to the White river and the data of his map²⁵ only to the Cheyenne, a comparatively short distance beyond. The French traveler does not say from whom he got his map. It was one that he evidently added to and corrected.²⁶ The *ancien traiteur* may have had nothing whatever to do with it and yet again he may have helped to furnish the material for the additions and corrections. Mackay's own map may have been the earliest,²⁷ depicting the region which he at the time had exclusively visited; but it was certainly not the only map of the upper Missouri country available when Jefferson sent Evans' map to Lewis,²⁸ and it, conjecturally, was not the only one when Du Lac started out in May of 1802.

One other thought is worth considering in connection with the rival claims of Mackay and Trudeau to traveling companionship with Du Lac. Mackay's position as an employee of the Company of the upper Missouri was presumably superior to Trudeau's; and Trudeau, the subordinate, the needy²⁹ school-

²⁴ It is principally upon this fact and upon that of the descriptive detail of the map, inclusive of the three posts that Mackay commanded, that Teggart's whole argument is based. "Notes supplementary to any edition of Lewis and Clark," in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1908, volume 1, p. 188. "Mackay's journal of a voyage up the Missouri toward the South sea, 1794," is published in *The Spanish regime in Missouri* (Houck, ed.), 2: 181-192.

²⁵ Du Lac's mention of his map is very circumstantial: "La carte que je joins ici et que j'ai rectifiée dans une distance de onze cents milles, fera connoître exactement le nombre des rivières qui viennent grossir ses eaux," *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 198. "Je m'y livrai avec délice, et ne m'occupai que quelques heures par jour a rectifier mes notes, et à mettre au net la carte que j'avois corrigée et tracée dans plusieurs parties." *Ibid.*, 218.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Mackay himself made large claims for his map, or plat. Note the following translation of a report to Don Charles Dehault Delassus:

James Mackey . . . has the honor to represent that during the years 1795 and 1796 he made (in consequence of the commission sent to him to this effect, by his excellency the Baron de Carondelet . . .) a voyage of discovery to the upper and unknown parts of Missouri, from which voyage he has brought memoirs, and particularly a map, such as never appeared before of this unknown part of the world. *American state papers: public lands*, 6: 718. In the translation given, the thing called in this a "map" is spoken of as a "plat." *Ibid.*, 8: 868.

²⁸ For exact citations and a full discussion of this matter, see Annie H. Abel, "A new Lewis and Clark map," in the *Geographical review*, 1: 340-341.

²⁹ The idea that Trudeau was a man of very moderate means is borne out by the fact that a relatively small debt of four hundred dollars which he owed to Governor Trudeau was not liquidated until the governor, about to leave St. Louis, executed a deed of gift to him in lieu of payment and in recognition of pedagogical services.

master, was far more likely to be in search of work to eke out a living than was Mackay, who, at the time of Du Lac's visit, was holding an appointment under the Spanish government, his duties being such as would keep him in St. Louis.

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL

DESCRIPTION DU HAUT MISSOURI

Contenant une Exacte Relation des Rivieres les plus remarquable qui s'y dechargent depuis au dessus de la grande Riviere platte jusqu au dessus des nations Mandanne & gros Ventre, de leur nom & leur distance avec une idée générale des peuples Sauvages, nouvellement frequentés par les sujets de sa majesté Catholique, de leur meurs, religions, maximes, usages, commerce & autre remarque — tant de ceux qui habitent les Bord de cette grande Riviere que de ceux qui parcourent les pays circonvoisin à loccident.

Par Jean Bap^{te} Trudeau voyageur.

La Riviere des missouris, vient du ouest N. O. et du N. O. en quelque endroit, se jette dan le fleuve du Mississipi (ou Michacypy^a) a Cinq lieu au dessus de St Louis des Illinois.

DESCRIPTION OF THE UPPER MISSOURI

Containing an exact account of the most remarkable rivers that empty there from above the great river Platte to above the Mandan and Gros Ventres nations, of their name and their distance with a general idea of the savage people recently visited by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, of their customs, religions, maxims, usages, commerce and other remarks — as well of those who dwell upon the banks of this great river, as of those who wander over the neighboring countries to the westward.

By Jean Baptiste Trudeau,³⁰ *voyageur*.

The Missouri river comes from the west northwest and, in some places, from the northwest. It empties into the Mississippi river five leagues above St. Louis of the Illinois.

³⁰ Throughout this article, the spelling of the French-Canadian *voyageur's* name has been used as it is here given. A few years since, when at work on the identification of the Indian office map that was so obviously a part of the equipment of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the writer was much impressed by Mrs. Beauregard's assertion that the man himself always wrote it "Truteau" and that that was the Canadian usage, the pronunciation having been "softened" "in the South" "by the substitution of *d* for *t*." Philologically, of course, *d* and *t* are interchangeable. In the case of the only other Trudeau document that the writer has personally examined in manuscript form, the name is spelled as it is here; but that is admittedly

On n'apu encore savoir aujuste ou cette riviere prende sa source, on croit selon le raport des quelques sauvages qu'elle sort des grande montagne de Roche qui, disent il traversent ce vaste pays, encore inconnu aux nations policées, du nort au sude — les eaux du Missouris coulent jusqu'a l'embouchure de la Riviere platte, entre deux chaines de Côte escarpées qui serpentent Comme elle: et enquelques endroit, elles sont assé Eloignée a Lagrande Riviere

des Bords, qu'entre les Côtes & la rivierre, ilya de grande prairie basse dans les qu'elles on voit Communément des troupeaux de Boeuf sauvage³² qui y paturent. au delà de Ces Cotes on decouvre de vaste prairies que s'étendent sans interruption jusqu'au pied des montagnes de Roches qui s'elevent au Couchant, netant Coupées que par les defferentes rivieres qui les traversent, au bord des quelles, on ne voit que de petit Bois, menus & de Basse futaye.³³ Ces grandes prairies ou grande landes, sont

No one has been able to learn exactly where this river has its source. It is common belief, according to the report of some savages, that it comes from the great mountains of rock³¹ which they say cross, from the north to the south, this vast country yet unknown to civilized nations. Up to the mouth of the river Platte, the waters of the Missouri flow between two chains of steep hills which wind as it winds. In some places, they are situated rather far from the great river.

On the banks, which are between the hills and the river, there are large low prairies on which one generally sees herds of the wild cattle³² that pasture there. Beyond these hills are vast prairies which extend without interruption up to the foot of the mountains of rock which rise up in the west, being cut only by the several rivers which cross them, on the edge of which one sees only little woods, thin and of trees low. These large prairies, or great waste lands, are completely sterile;³⁴ scarcely grass grows there. Upon the banks of the Missouri, one finds, here and there, some wooded point,³⁵ narrow and short, supplied only no indication of the *voyageur's* own spelling; for the instance cited is not that of a signature but that of an indorsement.

³¹ The Rocky mountains.

³² Buffalo. Thwaites says, "The buffaloes were usually called by the French hunters 'wild cows' or 'wild cattle,' a term often adopted by the English." *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition*, 1: 246, note 3.

³³ *Futaie*.

³⁴ For dissent from this general reputation for sterility, see a letter from Meriwether Lewis to his mother, March 31, 1805, quoted at length in *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 7: 309-312.

³⁵ The word "point" to indicate a small copse, or wooded promontory, became technical in the parlance of the interior. Chardon in his "Fort Clark journal" refers constantly to a certain "point," and Audubon in his "Missouri river jour-

tout a fait Steril apeine L'herbe y croit-elle, on trouve Sur les Bord du Missouri de distance en distance quelque pointe de Bois etroite et peu longue fourni seulement en petit liard,³⁶ saules, et aussi menu bois. Cette Riviere est divisé par quantité d'isle Couverte darbres entrelassé de tant de vigne qu'on a peine à y-passer, elle a presque partout une demi lieu de largeur. Sont lit est moin profond que dan le bas, et il setrouve frequemment Couvert par des batures ou banc de sable fort large, qui forment plusieurs Cheneaux qui en rendent en certains endroits le Chemin difficile: mais il ya toujours assez d'eau en tout tems pour porter les plus grande pirogues; les petit Batteau plat, ou berges, seroient les voitures les plus convenable pour y naviguer.

On n'y rencontre en aucune endroit de ces amas de bois de derive que lon nomme en baras tel quel s'en trouvent Communement sur les bas de Cette Riviere et que lon ne franchit qu'avec risque et peine, on ny trouve non plus aucune bature dangereuse soit Coupée, soit en mauvois rapi-

with small cottonwoods, willows, and also thin woods. This river is diversified by a number of islands covered with trees that are so interlaced with vines that one can hardly pass. It is almost everywhere half a league in width. Its bed is less deep than is the case lower down and it is frequently found covered with sandbars,³⁷ or banks of sand, very extensive, which form several channels that make the way, in certain places, difficult; but there is always enough water at all times to carry the largest pirogues. The little flatboats, or barges, would be (however) the most suitable conveyances for traveling there.

In no place does one meet with those masses of driftwood that are named *enbaras* such as are commonly found upon the lower part of the river and overcome only with difficulty and danger.³⁸ Neither does one

nals'' notices the peculiar use of the term thus: "We saw a patch of wood called in these regions a 'Point'." Maria R. Audubon and Elliott Coues, *Audubon and his journals* (London, 1898), 2: 80. It is rather amusing to find a contributor to *Dialect notes*, 5(3): 83, ignoring its French origin and making out its use to be peculiar to the great northwest.

³⁶ *Liard* was the popular French-Canadian name for the cottonwood. See *Journal of Larocque from the Assiniboine to the Yellowstone, 1805*, edited by Lawrence J. Burpee (*Publications of the Canadian archives*, number 3—Ottawa, 1910), 28, note 1, and *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 6: 43.

³⁷ Many travelers in those early days had reason to comment upon the sandbars that impeded progress in the navigation of the Missouri. The as yet undetermined author of "Voyage de Regis Loisel dans le haut Missouri" enlarged at length upon the theme. For references to mention by members of the Lewis and Clark expedition, see *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 7: 324, 339.

³⁸ The wooded obstructions, found alone or in combination with the sandbars, were likewise occasion for frequent comment in travel narratives. Again the "Voyage de Regis Loisel dans le haut Missouri" and also the *Original journals of the*

quage,³⁹ plus on marche en remontant vers sa source et moins son Cour est rapide: la seule incommodité que l'on y souffre est de ne trouver dans la saison des basses eaux au cun lieu propice pour y mettre des pirogues alabrie des vents qui sont tres frequents et tres fougueux dans ce pays la et que l'on est souvent contrain de decharger les pirogues des marchandises toutes les fois qu'il vente ce qui arrive presque tout les jours.

La grande riviere platte se decharge dans le missouri a la Gauche en montant a deux cent lieux au dessus de lambouchure de ce dernier, a Cinquante lieux plus haut a la droite on trouve la petite riviere des Sioux

find any dangerous shoal, broken up or in otherwise bad conditions. The farther one ascends toward its beginning, the less rapid one finds its course; the only inconvenience suffered there is in not finding, in the time of low water, any place suitable for mooring the pirogues so that they may be sheltered from the winds which are very frequent and very high in this country and one is often compelled to unload the pirogues every time the wind blows which happens almost every day.

The great river Platte empties into the Missouri, on the left in ascending, two hundred leagues above the mouth of the latter.⁴⁰ At fifty leagues higher, on the right, one finds the little river of the Sioux⁴¹

Lewis and Clark expedition (Thwaites, ed.), especially volume 7, pages 309-310 of the latter, should be mentioned. From its use in the former work as well as in this "Description" of Trudeau's, the word *enbaras* seems almost to have acquired a technical character.

³⁹ Although the manuscript gives clearly the spelling *rapiquage*, the word has been interpreted as bearing some relation to the modern *repiquage* (Littré: "Terme de construction. Action d'enlever les pavés enfoncés ou cassés d'une chaussée pour le remplacer par d'autres pavés"), and "in a bad condition" seems a better rendering than the more exact "state of repair"; for the context gives no indication that there had previously been erected any artificial structure and surely such would have been anything but desirable since the author's complaint is that the river was naturally difficult of passage. *Repiquage* as a gardening term with the meaning of "transplanting" has likewise been discarded.

⁴⁰ The "First part" of the Trudeau journal is practically identical in its phraseology for a bit at this point. It repeats itself thus: "La riviere platte se décharge dans le missouris a deux cent lieux des illinois." *American historical review*, 19: 306. "La riverre platte se decharge dans le [Missouri(?)] a la gauche en montans." *Ibid.* The distance as given is almost that of the Lewis and Clark estimation. See *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 6: 38, 58; 7: 310, 314.

⁴¹ Du Lac's *la première rivière des Sioux*, which he located at *vingt-six milles* above *un ancien fort bâti en 1792 par la compagnie du haut Missouri*. *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 208. Trudeau's "First part" has this journal entry: "le dix huit j'ai campé a la petite rivierre des sioux a cinquante lieux plus haut que la riverre platte. nous trouvons ici les eaux plus basses, et les courants moins fort." *American historical review*, 19: 306.

qui n'est navigable quavec des Canot de chasse. Sa source est peu eloigne de sa sortie. trente lieu plus haut à la Gauche habite la nation mahas leur Cabanne sont baties à deux lieux de distence des bords du missouri. Ces Sauvages vont faire la chasse deté & ne revienne a leur village qu'en août, ontrouve a six lieux au dessus des mahas du Côté du nord lagrande Riviere des Sioux qui vient du N. E. N. elle n'est navigable quavec des petite pirogue. les nations Siouze qui frequente les riviere St Pierre & des moins vienne endefferent tems de lannée y faire la Chasse de Boeuf sauvages, & autre Bêtes fauve, a quarante Cinq lieu de Celle cy⁴⁵ du même Côté sort la riviere St. Jacque belle riviere tres abon-

which is navigable with hunting canoes only. Its source is not far from its outlet. Thirty leagues higher, on the left, dwells the Omaha nation. Their huts are built two leagues distant from the banks of the Missouri.⁴² These savages go out to hunt in summer and return to their villages only in August. Six leagues above the Omaha, one finds, on the north bank, the great river of the Sioux⁴³ which comes from the north east north. It is navigable only with little pirogues. The Sioux nations that frequent the St. Pierre and Des Moines rivers come at different times of the year to hunt the buffalo and other wild animals.⁴⁴ Forty-five leagues from there, on the same side, goes out the river St. James,⁴⁶ a beautiful river,

⁴² On the subject of the Omaha village, Du Lac would seem to have obtained his detail from Trudeau's "First part" rather than from his "Description." He says in his *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 208, "A quatre-vingt-dix milles de la première rivière des Sioux, (735 milles au-dessus de l'embouchure du Missouri) est la rivière et le village des Mahas . . . Leur village est situé dans une belle plaine, aux pieds d'un agréable coteau, à une lieue du Missouri." With the foregoing, compare the following from Trudeau's "First part": "Le village des mahas, est situé dans une belle prairie a environ une lieux de distance du missouris et a deux cent quatre vingt lieux des illinois." *American historical review*, 19: 307.

⁴³ "et je fus campé a la grand riviere des scioux a la droite du missourie (s)ix lieux plus haut que le villages des mahas.

"cette rivierre ne peut porter que des canots de chasse." *American historical review*, 19: 307. "A vingt milles de la rivière des Mahas, est la seconde des Sioux, qui n'est navigable qu'à quelques milles de son embouchure." Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 210.

⁴⁴ For the wide range of the Sioux wanderings there is much to offer in evidence. For certain evidence taken from Trudeau alone, see *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 419, 462, 463-464.

⁴⁵ "There." This evidently means the Omaha village, because, in his "First part," Trudeau has put the James river at forty-five leagues above the village of the Omaha. *American historical review*, 19: 307.

⁴⁶ An evident error, inadvertent, due to close association, perhaps, since elsewhere the name is given correctly. Loisel knew the river Jacques as the "Bois Blanc." *The Spanish regime in Missouri* (Houck, ed.), 2: 360.

dantes en Castor & autre Bête fauve; ell a selon le raport des Sauvages plus de Cent lieu de Cours, et vient aussi du nord: et il se decharge de dans plusieurs autres petites rivières, dont une est nommée la rivière à la pierre rouge, elle tire son nom d'une carrière de cette pierre qui se trouve sur ses bords. à vingt Cinq lieu au dessus de la rivière à Jacques à Gauche on trouve la rivière qui court, elle prend sa source dans la partie du O. S. O. et fort loin de son embouchure Selon le raport des Sauvages elle est la plus abondante en Castore et Loutre de toutes les rivières Connues, mais elle Coule avec tant de rapidité et est si remplie de Cataracte qu'il est impossible d'y naviguer soit en montant soit en descendant.—⁴⁸

La nation poncas a ses habitations situées à deux lieux plus haut que son embouchure leur Cabanne est bâtie sur une éminence au bord d'une

very abundant in beaver and other wild animals. It has, according to the report of the savages, a course of more than a hundred leagues and comes also from the north. It disembogues into several other little rivers, one of which is named the river of the red stone.⁴⁷ It takes its name from a quarry of this stone that is found upon its banks. At twenty-five leagues above the James river, on the left, one finds the river Qui Court. It has its source in the west southwest and very far from its mouth. According to the report of the savages, it is the most abundant in beaver and otter of all the known rivers; but it flows with such swiftness and is so full of waterfalls that it is impossible to navigate it, either in ascending or in descending.

The Ponca nation has its habitations placed at two leagues higher than its mouth. Their huts are built upon a hill on the edge of a great plain

⁴⁷ Quite obviously Trudeau has here confounded the James, or Dakota, with the Big Sioux.

⁴⁸ Concerning the Qui Court, or Niobrara river, the "First part" has a passage most striking in its resemblance: "cette rivière à la gauche De missouris est estimée à soixante et dix lieux du grand village des mahas, et ainsi éloignée de trois cent cinquante lieux de l'embouchure du missouri, selon le rapport des sauvages. elle est la plus abondante en castor et loutres de tout ce continent, mais elle roule ses eaux avec tant de force et de rapidité, que l'on ne peut, soit disant, y naviguer, ni en montant ni en descendant. le village des poncas est situé à un lieu plus haut, près du missourie." *American historical review*, 19: 308. Toward the end of his journal, Trudeau places the Ponca villages at about half a league from the Missouri. *Ibid.*, 332. Accompanying the manuscript here edited is a page, numbered 4½, which is seemingly in the handwriting of Nicollet. It reads as follows: "Ces os ont été trouvés sur le haut de la Rivière *Eau qui court*, à peu près à 25 pieds au-dessus de la surface supérieure des Bords pays flat prairie. des deux côtés des *Eau qui court* à 250 ou 300 miles au-dessus de la jonction au Missouri." In the "Extracts" from Mr. Evans' journal, edited by Milo M. Quaife, in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings*, 1915, p. 199, the Hay river is the one reputed to have "More Beaver and Otters than in any other part of the Continent."

Grande pleine éloigné d'environ une lieu du missouri, le Boeuf le Chevreuille⁴⁹ & Castore est Commun dans cette endroit — a trente Cinq lieux plus haut du même Côté sort une riviere nommé la riviere blanche les eaux en son blanche. Sa source est peu éloigne de son enbouchure.

a quinze lieux au dessus de cette riviere, le missouri fait un detoure de dix lieu, il se jette en cette endroit au S. O. & reprend son Cour ordinaire après dix lieux de detour.

a quinze leiu plus haut on trouve une riviere a la gauche en montant, nommé par les Sauvages l'eau tranquille & par les francais le petit missouri Cette riviere est peu considerable, l'eau ni coule qu'au printems

about a league from the Missouri. The buffalo, the deer, and beaver are common in this place. At thirty-five leagues higher, on the same side, there goes out a river named the White river. Its waters are white.⁵⁰ Its source is a little way from its mouth.

Fifteen leagues⁵¹ above this river, the Missouri makes a detour of ten leagues. It turns in this place to the southwest and resumes its usual course after ten leagues of detour.⁵²

Fifteen leagues higher, on the left in ascending, one finds a river, named by the savages Tranquil Water, and by the French, the Little Missouri. This river is small. The water runs only in the springtime at

⁴⁹ According to the *Journal of Larocque* (Burpee, ed.), 33, note 2, this was the specific French name for the roebuck. Larocque uses the word for fallow deer generally. *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁰ Whitehouse, in his journal, specifically asserted that "the current and colour (of the White River) is like the Missouri R." *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 7: 58. There was never any question about the muddiness of the waters of the Missouri. Du Pratz says, "ses eaux sont limoneuses, troubles & chargées de nitre; ce sont les eaux de cette Riviere qui rendent troubles celles du Fleuve S. Louis jusques à la Mer; car le Fleuve S. Louis est très clair au-dessus du confluent du Missouri." Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758), 1:323. The writer of the Loisel narrative grouped its tributaries with it. "Ses eaux," he wrote, "sont toujours aussi troubles qu'aux ilinois et ses dépôts de même nature. Les sauvages ignorent eux mêmes si cette vase sort particulièrement d'une de ses branches et dans leurs courses de guerre, aucun n'a été assez loin pour trouver les eaux claires — ce qui est certain que celles qui sortent des grandes rivières qui se déchargent a la rive west, jusques chez Les ricaras, ne sont pas moins chargées de la même matière."

⁵¹ "de la riviere Blanche au grand détour vingt lieux, du grand detour au petit missourie vingt cinq lieux, du petit missourie au villages des Ricaras quinze lieux." Trudeau's "First part," in *American historical review*, 19: 316. Trudeau is no longer very sure of his calculations.

⁵² Lewis estimates that "the big bend of the Missouri lies in a circular form, and is 30 miles around, while it is only one mile and a quarter across the gorge." *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 6:47.

alafonte des neiges, ou après quelqu'abondance de pluie, car autrement on ni voit que quelque bassins deau qui n'a aucun cours, une ordre de Sioux appelée oconona, cy devant amis et alliez des aricaras, parcouroit habituellement les bords de cette riviere.

Les aricaras, appelés par abrégé les ris avoient leur habitation á dix lieux plus haut sur la rive gauche, qu'ils ont abandonné pendant ma residence

the melting of the snow or after some heavy rain. At other times one sees only some ponds of water without flow.⁵³ One branch of the Sioux, called the *Oconona*,⁵⁴ formerly friends and allies of the Arikara, wandered habitually along the banks of this stream.

The Arikara,⁵⁵ called for short the Ree, had their dwellings ten leagues higher upon the left bank. These they abandoned during my stay among

⁵³ Trudeau elsewhere said of this river that it "is very small. The water does not flow at this season of the year and we found it only in holes." Trudeau's "Second part," in *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 420.

⁵⁴ Everything said by Trudeau of the *Oconona* seems to correspond with facts obtained from other authorities respecting a certain group of the Teton Sioux. It was because the Little Missouri was their habitat that Lewis and Clark rechristened it the Teton. *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: 163. Quite possibly the *Oconona* of Trudeau's "Description" were the same as the *Teton O-kan-dan-das* of Lewis and Clark, whose range was near the mouth of the Cheyenne and who were on fairly friendly terms with the Arikara. *Ibid.*, 6: 97. Trudeau does not mention the *Oconona* by name in his journal; but, in the "Second part," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 43, he refers to a village of Sioux, friendly with the Arikara and separated territorially from other Sioux. They were apparently joined by another band of the same tribe, the *Chahony*. *Ibid.*, 47. All these wanderers together may have formed the Hunkpapa of a later day, the *Uncapapas* of some writers. *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, edited by Frederick W. Hodge (Smithsonian institution, Bureau of American ethnology, *Bulletin* 30 — Washington, 1907), part 1, p. 579; Charles King, *Campaigning with Crook and stories of army life* (New York, 1890), 41. In 1825 the Hunkpapa were reported as friendly with the Arikara. *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 2: 607.

⁵⁵ "Les Ricaras, autrefois une des nations les plus nombreuses de l'Amerique septentrionale, ont eu jusqu'à trente-deux villages, détruits pour la plupart par les Sioux ou dépeuplés par la petite vérole. Le petit nombre qui a échappé à cette maladie, (laquelle a chez ces peuples des suites bien plus fâcheuses encore que chez nous), s'est réuni depuis quelques années en une seule peuplade, qui compte mille à douze cents guerriers. Ainsi que ceux qui se trouvent plus au nord et nord-ouest, ils n'ont eu jusqu'à présent que très-peu de communication avec les Blancs, et ont conservé, presque dans leur intégrité, les moeurs, les coutumes, les armes et les vêtemens de leurs ancêtres." Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 257.

"In ancient times the Ricara nation was very large; it counted thirty-two populous villages, now depopulated and almost entirely destroyed by the small-pox which broke out among them three different times. . . . This nation formerly so numerous, and which, according to their reports, could turn out four thousand warriors, is now

chez eux, pour ce retirer au près des mandannes, ont fait nombre de Cinq Cent guerrier de cette nation.

a deux lieux au dessus des habitations des ris sort la riviere des chaguienne, que des chasseur ont nommé la fourche: Cette riviere est assés large mais peu profonde de sorte qu'on ne peut y naviguer quavec beaucoup de peine, elle prende ses sources fort loin de son embouchure, dans des Côtes de roches Escarpées, du côté du Soleil couchant elle se Separant en plusieurs fourches sur le haut, bien fournies en bois & tres abondantes en Castor.

a trente lieux environ de son Embouchure sur une de ses fourches, nommé la riviere au Cerize a Grappe, les Chaguiennes yont Batie quelque Caba-

them, in order to withdraw nearer to the Mandan.⁵⁶ One can count five hundred warriors of this nation.

Two leagues above the dwelling of the Ree issues forth the river of the Cheyenne which some hunters have named the Fork.⁵⁷ This river is rather wide but shallow so that one can navigate it only with much difficulty. It has its source very far from its mouth, in the hills of precipitous rocks, in the direction of the setting sun. In its upper part, it divides into many branches, well supplied with wood and very abundant in beaver.

About thirty leagues from its mouth, upon one of its tributaries, called the river of the Bunch of Cherries, the Cheyenne built there some per-reduced to about five hundred fighting men." Trudeau's "Second part," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 28-29.

⁵⁶ The bearing that this passage has upon the time of the Arikara departure, though slight, is not without interest. According to Trudeau's "First part," the Arikara had vanished from their old haunts before Trudeau reached them. *American historical review*, 19: 314, 318; *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 423, 429, and notes 42, 43. To the men of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the villages near the mouth of the Cheyenne had the appearance of having been abandoned about five years. *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: 179, 204-205. In the "Second part" of his journal, Trudeau assigns another reason, decimation through smallpox, for the Arikara removal to the neighborhood of Grand river. *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 28.

⁵⁷ In the Loisel narrative the river is never referred to otherwise than as the "Fourche," but in Loisel's own memorial as rendered by Houck in *The Spanish regime in Missouri*, 2: 361, this variation occurs: "Reascending the Misury to a distance of 450 leagues from San Luis, one comes to the River Chayennes, or as it is called, the Courche or Braso." A common Indian name for it, at least later on, was "Wakpa-Washte," or "Good river." On the map published with the reports of Raynolds and Maynadier, in *Senate executive documents*, 40 congress, 2 session, number 77, this name was applied to the river near its junction with the Missouri and "Big Shyenne" only after it had itself received the waters of Cherry creek. The "Big Shyenne" is represented as dividing into "Belle Fourche" and "South Fork," and "South Fork," in its turn, into many branches.

nes fixée, a lentour des quelles il cultivent des petits Chams de mays & de tabac, mais d'ailleur Cette nation qui est divisé en trois bandes ou hordres dont la plus considérable porte le nom de Chaguienne la deuxieme est appellees Ouisy & la troisiemme Chouta, Erre san cesse le Long de

manent huts, around which they cultivated little fields of maize⁵⁸ and tobacco; but, furthermore, this nation, which is divided into three bands, or hordes,⁵⁹ of which the largest bears the name of Cheyenne, the second is called Ouisy,⁶⁰ the third Chouta, wanders without cessation the length

⁵⁸ Considering that the Cheyenne, Arikara, Mandan, Gros Ventres, and other upper Missouri tribes were all agriculturists to a greater or less degree, it is rather interesting to observe that Henry R. Schoolcraft's information on this score was about as inaccurate as on many other subjects upon which he professed to give the first and the last word. He says of the cultivation of maize: "Indian corn was planted, to a limited extent, by the Atlantic and Mississippi Valley tribes; but no trader or traveller has ever noticed its cultivation among the interior and mountain tribes." *Historical and statistical information respecting the history condition and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1851-1857), 6: 562. In contradistinction to Schoolcraft's testimony note the following from Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 339: "Les Sauvages du haut Missouri sont sédentaires ou errant. Les Sédentaires sont ceux qui, fixés dans des villages, ne s'en éloignent que pour chasser ou aller en guerre; tandis que les peuples errans suivent les animaux dont ils tirent leur subsistence, et emmènent avec eux tout ce qu'ils possèdent, sans s'inquiéter de la culture. Ils vivent de viande ou de fruits, lorsque la saison leur en offre, et font quelquefois avec les peuples sédentaires qui cultivent le maïs, le citrouilles et le tabac, les échanges qui peuvent leur convenir."

⁵⁹ The Cheyenne tribal divisions here given are identical with those in Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 257-258. Du Lac, presumably borrowing at large from Trudeau, says: "Les Chaguyennes qui errent continuellement sur ses deux rives, à la recherche des boeufs sauvages, sont divisés en trois hordes, dont la plus nombreuse conserve le nom de Chaguyenne; la seconde s'appelle Ouisy, et la troisième Chousa. Non contents de chasser sur les bords de cette rivière, ils s'étendent dans d'immenses prairies à peu de distance de la rivière Plate. C'est au-delà de ces vastes prairies que se trouvent des lacs ou grands marais, tellement abondans en castors, que ces peuples superstitieux prétendent qu'ils sont le séjour du père de tous les castors. L'histoire qu'ils racontent à ce sujet, peut donner une idée de leur simplicité et de leur excessive crédulité." Farther along Du Lac, still borrowing from Trudeau, adds thus to our information about the Cheyenne and their neighbors: "Les Chaguyennes, quoique errans la plus grande partie de l'année, sèment près de leur village du maïs et du tabac, qu'ils viennent récolter au commencement de l'automne. Ils sont généralement bons chasseurs, et tuent beaucoup de castors dont ils trafiquent avec les Sioux. Plusieurs peuples errans, mais qui sont alliés des Chaguyennes, chassent dans le même pays. Ces peuples sont les Cayouwas, les Tocaninambiches, les Tokiouakos et les Pitapahatos. L'on a appris d'eux qu'ayant formé, il y a quelques années." *Ibid.*, 259-260.

⁶⁰ In the manuscript here edited, the spelling of this name is unmistakably "Ouisy," the *s* being of the long variety. Du Lac also has so interpreted it; but the translator of Trudeau's "Second part" prefers "Ouify." *Missouri historical*

cette riviere, du haut en bas et traverse même plusieurs chaines de Côte qui separent a plusieurs rangs ces vaste Prairie, a la recherche des vaches sauvage, audela de ces differente Côte endeca de la grande riviere platte, setrouve plusieurs petit Lac ou marai qui senble disent-il être les endroits dou son sortis tous les castors & les Loutres qui se sont rependu dans toutes les autres rivieres par la quantité et la grandeur enorme des cabanes que ses animeaux yont Construit et qu'il habitent. —

Plusieurs peuples sauvages non sedentaire parcourent ce pays tel que sont les Cayouas, les Tocaninanbiche, les Tokiouako, les Pitapahato, tous alliez des Chaguiennes mais de langages different, les Chaguienne seavent très bien chasser aux Castors dont il troquent les peaux avec les Sioux pour des marchandises: et les autres ne manquoient pas d'en tuer aussi beaucoup s'il y etoit induits par des marchands qui le leur echangeroient pour des marchandises, la Grande nation des Pados qui parcourt les bords de la riviere platte, n'est eloignée du missouri a lendroit du territoire des aricaras que de dix jours de marche de Guerriers qui peuvent être évalué a soixante ou

of this river and crosses, in search of wild cows, even many chains of hills that separate, by several ranges, these vast prairies. On the other side of these various hills, on this side of the great river Platte, several little lakes, or bogs, are found, which seem, they say, by the quantity and the great size of the huts which these animals have built there and which they inhabit, to be the places whence have come all the beavers and the otters that are scattered in all the other rivers.

Several savage wandering peoples scour this country, such as are the Kiowa, the *Tocaninanbiche*,⁶¹ the *Tokiouako*,⁶² the *Pitapahato*,⁶³ all allies of the Cheyenne but speaking different languages. The Cheyenne know very well how to hunt the beaver, the skins of which they barter with the Sioux for merchandise; and the others would not fail likewise to kill many of them if they were led to it by traders who would take the skins in exchange for merchandise.

The great nation of the Comanche which roams along the banks of the river Platte is, at the place of the territory of the Arikara, only ten days' march by warriors from the Missouri river which distance can be estimated by *society collections*, 4: 38. The editor of the reproduction in the *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 466, note 63, affirms that the village of the Ouisay has not been identified by him.

⁶¹ The *Caminabiches* of the "Second part," better known as Arapaho.

⁶² Omitted from the list of the "Second part."

⁶³ Concerning other renderings of this name, see "Journal of Trudeau," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 31, note 32.

quatrevingt lieux Communes, les hahitannes ou Tête pelée peuple errant occupent tout le pays au dela de la grande riviere platte, jusque sur les bords de lariviere des arkansas; et setendant le long des grande montagnes qui separent le nouveaux mexique de cette partie de la merique meridional.

Lorsque je fus en parol ⁶⁶ chez la nation Chaguienne dan le Cour de Leté mil sept Cent quatrevingt quinze ou je vis et parlai a plusieurs Chefs et considérés des nations Tocaninanbiche et Cayoouas: je m'informai atous

mated as sixty or eighty common leagues.⁶⁴ The *Hahitannes*, or wandering bald-headed people,⁶⁵ occupy all the country beyond the great river Platte as far as along the banks of the Arkansas river and extend themselves the length of the great mountains which separate New Mexico from this part of southern Mexico.

When I had dealings with the Cheyenne people, in the course of the summer of 1795,⁶⁷ where I saw and spoke to many chiefs and leading men of the *Tocaninanbiche* and Kiowa nations, I inquired of all if, in their

⁶⁴ "La grande nation des Padaws qui parcourent la rivière Plate, n'est éloignée de celle des Ricaras que d'environ dix journées de chasseur, que l'on peut estimer à vingt-cinq milles chacune. Les Halisanes ou Têtes pelées sont errans, chassent sur l'autre rive de la rivière Plate, jusques sur les bords de celle des Arkansas, et s'étendent aux pieds des montagnes du nouveau Mexique, dans un territoire abondant en toutes sortes d'animaux." Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 261.

⁶⁵ The *Hahitannes*, or Têtes pelées, the writer cannot positively identify with any of the tribes enumerated by contemporary travelers. In the passage just quoted, Du Lac modifies the spelling to *Halisanes* and elsewhere (for example, on pages 309 and 337) to *Halitanes*. If Mackay were indeed the *ancien traiteur*, it seems odd that he nowhere refers to them under one of the three names. His *Othochita* were below the mouth of the Platte, and there are varieties of the Oto name that are slightly suggestive of Trudeau's appellation. "Mackay's journal of a voyage up the Missouri," in *The Spanish régime in Missouri* (Houck, ed.), 2: 183; *Handbook of American Indians* (Hodge, ed.), part 2, p. 166. The *Halitanes* are, however, in Du Lac's mind quite distinct from the *Ottotatoos*. *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 309. The Têtes pelées listed by Hodge in *Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, p. 736, could scarcely have been those of whom Trudeau and Du Lac heard. Conceivably, Loisel's *Huapitones* were the *Hahitannes*. *The Spanish regime in Missouri* (Houck, ed.), 2: 363.

⁶⁶ *En parol* is, the writer is pretty well convinced, a technical expression, signifying a peace mission. Mackay uses it as such; so also does Du Lac. "Extracts from Capt. McKay's journal" (Quaife, ed.), in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings*, 1915, p. 192; Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 320-321.

⁶⁷ "Journal of Trudeau," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 38-41; "Trudeau's journal," in *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 466-468. It is well to note that, in borrowing from this incident, Du Lac carefully conceals the hero's identity and refrains from giving the slightest clew as to the source of his own information.

si dans leur longuer courses de Guerre au dela des montagnes il naurois pas decouvert quelque rivieres dont les eaux allassent au Soleil Couchant. Il me dirent qu'il y-avoit dux ans que les Chaguiennes et les Cayouas leurs alliez avoit formé un partie de Guerre Considerable dont

long war marches beyond the mountains, they had not discovered some river the waters of which might possibly flow toward the setting sun.⁶⁸ They told me that two years before the Cheyenne and Kiowa, their allies, had formed a considerable war party⁶⁹ in which the great chief

⁶⁸ The search for the western sea had been going on intermittently for a long time. Concerning it, the Vérendryes questioned the Mandan, but without obtaining satisfaction. Charles E. DeLand, "The Verendrye explorations and discoveries," in *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 180. It was one of the things given great prominence in the official instructions to Trudeau, November 25, 1794, and the very language of those instructions acquires a new significance in the light of the "Description du haut Missouri." "He shall attempt to have friendly relations with the Indians who live on the other side of the Rocky [mountain] Chain, on which there are numerous nations, known under the name Serpientes [*i. e.*, *Snakes*], and to find out from them, if they have any knowledge of the Sea of the West [*Mar del Ouest*] and if the waters of the rivers on the other side of the Rocky [mountain] Chain flow westward." *The Spanish regime in Missouri* (Houck, ed.), 2: 166. Similar instructions must have been issued to Mackay, who had been interested in the search as far back as the days of his British service, and by him to Evans. "Mackay's journal of a voyage up the Missouri," in *The Spanish regime in Missouri* (Houck, ed.), 2: 192; "Journal of Trudeau," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 20, note 22; "Extracts from Capt. McKay's journal" (Quaife, ed.), in *Wisconsin historical society, Proceedings*, 1915, p. 195. A special inducement toward the prosecution of the search was the promise of a monetary gift from the royal treasury upon accomplishment. "Journal of Trudeau," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 10.

⁶⁹ The Trudeau narrative, from this point on, furnished material wholesale to Du Lac. Indeed, if for other parts of his book Du Lac plagiarized as much as he did for this part, it can be safely said that there was scarcely anything in it that was his own. Narcisse E. Dionne, *Samuel Champlain* (Quebec, 1891), is the only thing comparable to it in the writer's experience. Du Lac's account of the Indians' recital is as follows, the quotation beginning where that ends:

L'on a appris d'eux qu'ayant formé, il y a quelques années, un grand parti de guerre et de chasse, ils traversèrent du côté du couchant des montagnes très-escarpées, au pied desquelles une belle rivière coule dans la même direction. Après l'avoir descendue plusieurs jours, ils rencontrèrent sept familles, qu'ils attaquèrent et défirent sans difficulté. Étant entré dans leurs cabanes, ils ne découvrirent rien qui pût faire présumer qu'ils eussent eu avec les Blancs la moindre communication. Leurs ustensiles étoient d'une forme extraordinaire. Leurs vêtements, leur chaussure, les harnois de leurs chevaux, étoient de peaux de castors, de loutres, de renards, de loups, de lièvres ou autres animaux dont ce pays abonde. Leurs tentes étoient faites de nattes de joncs, à défaut de peaux de boeufs, dont ils paroissent être privés. Un petit sac de maïs qu'ils trouvèrent dans le bagage, leur donna occasion de demander à quelques femmes prisonnières si leur nation en cultivoit; elles répondirent que non, mais qu'au bas de la rivière il y avoit un grand village où l'on récoltoit en quantité.

Ayant aperçu au cou et aux oreilles de ces femmes différens coquillages percés et enfilés dans de petits cordons de cuir, ils furent curieux de savoir d'où elles les avoient tirés; elles répondirent qu'à l'embouchure de la rivière il y avoit une grande

le grand chef des chaguiennes étoit partisent, lequ'el m'at rapporté lui même ce fait pour certain : — Quayant traversées les montagnes il avoient arrivé apres plusieurs jours de marches sur les bords dune rivierre large & profonde, bien fourni en bois, dont les eaux paroissoient aller aucouchant d'hiver que le long de cette rivierre quil avoient suivis en descendant ils avoient decouvert sept Cabanes de Sauvages inconnus ; les ayant attaque et defait, ils n'ont trouvé dans leur butin aucuns des moindres effets provenants des hommes blanc tout leurs ustencilles étant de leur propre invention, leur Cabannes étoient composé de natte de jone & de longue paille, les gros animeaux des peaux des quels les Sauvages ont Coutume de faire leur tente menquent absolument dans ce pays, leur vetements leurs chaussures et même les housses de leur cheveaux étoit de peaux de Castor, de Loutre, de Cabri de chevreuille, de Loup, de Renard de Lievre &c. ils ont comme tout les autres lusages de larc et de laffêche dont larmure est de pierre ou dos. un petit sac plin de bledinde qu'il trouverent parmi leur bagage, leur donna occasion de demander a quelques femmes prisonnieres si leur nation Cultivoient cette plante ? Elle repondire que non ; mais que dans le bas de cette riviere

of the Cheyenne took part, who himself reported to me this fact for certain : — that, having crossed the mountains, they had come, after many days' journey, to the banks of a wide and deep river, well timbered, the waters of which appeared to go in the direction of the winter sunset ; that, along this river which they had followed in descending, they had discovered seven huts of unknown savages ; having attacked them and defeated them, they found in their booty none of the small effects coming from white men, all of their utensils being of their own invention. Their huts were made of rush matting and of long straw. The large animals of the skins of which the savages are accustomed to make their tents are absolutely wanting in this country. Their garments, their shoes, and even the saddlecloths were of skins of beaver, of otter, of kid, of deer, of wolf, of fox, of hare, and so forth. They have, as all the others, the use of the bow and arrow, the armor of which is of stone or bone. A little bag full of Indian corn, which they found among their baggage, gave them occasion to inquire of some women prisoners if their nation cultivated that plant. They answered no ; but that in the lower part of this river there was a large village of savages

quantité d'eau, qui s'étendoit assez loin pour qu'on ne pût découvrir la rive opposée ; que cette eau montoit et se retiroit alternativement en certain temps du jour et de la nuit ; que les peuples voisins attehoient au bout de longs cordons des morceaux de viande, qu'ils jetoient pendant les hautes eaux et qu'ils retiroient dans les eaux basses ; et que les coquillages dont elles se paroient, se trouvoient en grand nombre collés à la viande dont elles les détachioient.—Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 260-261.

il y-avoit un grand village de Sauvage qui en receuilloient une grande quantité Ces femmes avoient pendu au col et aux oreillas des Coquillages de differente espece & forme, percé et enfilé dans des petit cordons de cuir ; il leur demanderent dou elle tenoient ces espece de rassade, elle repondirent qu'a l'entré de cette riviere paroissoit une Grande etendu d'eau dont on nevoyoit pas lautre Rive que leau y'montoit et rebaissoit Considerablement en certain tems du jour et de la nuit ; que les Sauvages qui faisoient leur residence aux environs, attachoient, au bout d'une longue Corde, des gros morceaux de viande, qu'il jetoient dans l'eau haute et retiroient lors qu'elle perdoit ; que quantité de ces Coquillages setrouvoient Collés à ces pieces de viande et que les ayant detaché, il les percais et se les pendoit ainsi au col et aux oreilles pour parures.

Le Missouri au dessus de la riviere des Chaguienne detourne au N. E. l'espace de quatre ou Cinq lieu & ensuite il retourne a L. O. jusqu'au mandanne, il ne recoit du Côté du nord depuis là jusqu'aux nations gros ventre qu'une seul riviere, qui sort a soixante lieux environ audessus de l'embouchure de cette riviere des chaguienne a l'ouest du missouri on trouve Cinq riviere peu Considerable, on estime le village mandanne éloigné de cent lieues de l'entré de cette riviere des Chaguienne.

who sowed and reaped a great quantity of it. These women had hung around their neck and ears some shells of various kinds and shapes, pierced and threaded on little strings of leather. They asked them where they obtained this kind of glass bead. They answered that at the mouth of this river appeared a large body of water, the other bank of which was not visible ; that the water rose and fell considerably at certain times of the day and night ; that the savages that had their homes about there attached to the end of a long line large pieces of meat which they threw into the water when deep and drew out when it ebbed ; that a quantity of these shells were found adhering to these pieces of meat ; and that, having detached them, they pierced them and hung them thus around the neck and ears for ornament.

The Missouri, above the river of the Cheyenne, turns to the northeast the distance of four or five leagues and, afterwards, it turns again to the west as far as the Mandan. On the north side from there up to the Gros Ventres, it receives only a single river, which issues forth about sixty leagues above the mouth of this river of the Cheyenne. On the west side of the Missouri there are five rivers all of inconsiderable size. It is estimated that the Mandan village is distant one hundred leagues from the entrance of this river of the Cheyenne.

Les Mandannes ne comptent que trois cent Guerriers cette nation est divisé en trois Villages dont le plus grand est situé sur la partie occidentale du missouri est les deux autres plus petit, sur l'autre rive à l'opposite les uns des autres toute au pres de cette riviere.

Les Gros Ventres sont plus nombreux, ils peuvent metre sur pied huit Cent Guerriers, Il sont partagés en deux villages situé sur le bord du missouri à la Gauche en montant à environ deux lieuës au dessus des

The Mandan⁷⁰ count only three hundred warriors.⁷¹ This nation is divided into three villages, the largest of which is situated on the western side of the Missouri and the two smaller ones upon the other bank opposite, quite near this river.⁷²

The Gros Ventres⁷³ are more numerous. They can put upon foot eight hundred warriors.⁷⁴ They are divided into two⁷⁵ villages situated upon the bank of the Missouri on the left in ascending, about two leagues

⁷⁰ "Les Mandanes étoient autrefois très-nombreux, mais ils ont été tellement maltraités par les peuplades qui habitent le nord du Missouri, et la petite vérole a fait chez eux de si terribles ravages, qu'à peine comptent-ils aujourd'hui trois cents querriers. Ils sont divisés en trois villages, dont le plus considérable est sur la rive occidentale, et les deux autres sur la rive orientale." Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 262-263.

⁷¹ In 1804, two years after Du Lac borrowed his information from Trudeau, the estimate was 350. *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: 220.

⁷² Mackay reported "The Mandaines, jointly with the Manitouris (Minitaree) and Wattasoons live in five Villages, which are almost in sight of one another, three of those Villages are on the South Side of the Missouri and two on the North Side." "Extracts from Capt. McKay's journal" (Quaife, ed.), in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings*, 1915, p. 192. Compare this account with the Lewis and Clark account in *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: chapter 5, and with the Maximilian account in *Early western travels, 1748-1846*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1904-1907), 22: 344, 350. The explanation of the discrepancy, if any there be in reality, may be found, perhaps, in the fact that the Mandan, too, had changed their location. *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: 205.

⁷³ "Les Gros-ventres, qui ne sont éloignés des villages Mandanes que de quelques milles, peuvent mettre sur pied huit cents guerriers. Ils ont deux villages, d'où ils ne sortent que par bandes, pour aller en guerre ou pour chasser le boeuf sauvage." Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 263. For some unaccountable reason, the English translation of Du Lac's work omits mention of the Gros Ventres.

⁷⁴ The Lewis and Clark estimate of the number of Gros Ventres, or *Minitarees*, was 600 or 650. *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: 220.

⁷⁵ Trudeau seems to have confused the number of the Mandan villages with that of the Gros Ventres. The occupied villages at about the close of the century were apparently two of the former and three of the latter. See "Journal of Trudeau on the upper Missouri," in *American historical review*, 19: 302, note 1.

mandannes ils sont tous fixés dans leurs habitations dou il ne Sortent que par Brigades soit pour la Guerre soit pour faire la chasse des Boeuf sauvage

Aupres des Villages Mandannes & Gros ventres les Bois du Missouri sont plus épais et de grosse et haute futaies que sur le Bas de cette rivierre, cest adire depuis l'embouchure de la grande riviere platte en remontan jusqu'à ce lieu.

Les assiboines, nation Errante au nord au missouri chez la qu'elle les marchand anglais du Canada Et de la Bai D'hudson font le traficque des pelleteries, frequentent les mandannes & les Gros ventres, dou il

above the Mandan. They are all settled in their dwellings, which they leave only by brigades either for war or to hunt the buffalo.

Near the villages of the Mandan and Gros Ventres, the woods of the Missouri are thicker and of larger full-grown trees than upon the lower part of this river; that is to say, from the mouth of the great river Platte in ascending to this place.

The Assiniboin,⁷⁶ a wandering nation to the north of the Missouri, with whom the English⁷⁷ traders of Canada and of Hudson bay traffic in peltries, visit the Mandan and the Gros Ventres, from whom they

⁷⁶ "Les Asseniboines, nation errante au nord du Missouri, fréquentent les Mandanes et les Gros-ventres, auxquels ils fournissent quelques fusils, de la poudre, du plomb et quelques autres marchandises de peu de conséquence; ils en reçoivent en échange des chevaux, du maïs et du tabac." Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 263.

⁷⁷ Du Lac very adroitly eliminates the allusion to the "English traders" but, in another connection (page 219) he gives due weight to the surpassingly great energy of the islanders particularly when displayed in North America. Employees of Spain were especially envious of the success with which the Hudson's Bay company conducted a strictly mercantile intercourse with the native tribes. It is evident in all the literature of the period. A prime reason for their success was offered by Mackay, who, having been a British trader once himself, though of the less reputable Northwest company, could speak with assurance. "Mackay's journal of a voyage up the Missouri," in *The Spanish regime in Missouri*, 2: 185. The reason was the same that the investigator occasionally finds assigned in subsequent years when the British and the Americans had become competitors. The former early established a reputation for business honesty and maintained it unswervingly through periods of great vicissitude. The enterprising spirit of the English was something to cause the lackadaisical Spaniard great anxiety as it eventually did the American. See Larocque's references to Lewis and Clark in L. R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest* (Quebec, 1889), volume 1. Though Mackay personally may not have viewed the American with equal apprehension, there was one Spanish agent who did, and that was Carondelet. A report of his made in 1793 characterizes the American as the indefatigable expansionist. *The Spanish regime in Missouri* (Houck, ed.), 2: 9-17.

tirent des cheveux du mays Et du tabac, en échange de fusils et autre marchandises qu'il y-aportent. —

a Cinquente lieuës au dessus des Gros ventres a loccident du Missouri, se decharge une grande riviere nommée la Rivierre au roches jaunes, qui est aussi large et aussi profonde a peu de chause près que le Missouri cette Grande rivierre prend sa source dans des montagnes de roches dans la partie O. Ses bords sont bien fournis en bois, il si trouvent des sapins — des pins, des Epinettes, des Bouleaux des cédres Et de toute autre bois, le Boeuf et autre Bêtes fauves courent par troupeau le long de ses bords; plusieurs petite rivieres qui se jettent de dans sont abondante en castor au delà de toute Croyance, la nation du Corbeau peuple nombreux habite ses bords, et plus haut en remontant vers sa source sont situé plusieurs autres nations sauvages qui nous sont encore inconnues. les Sauvages m'ont assure qu'elle etoit très profonde fort loin de son

obtain horses, corn, and tobacco in exchange for guns and other merchandise that they bring there.

At fifty leagues above the Gros Ventres, to the west of the Missouri,⁷⁸ there discharges a large river, called the river of the Yellowstone,⁷⁹ which is almost as broad and deep as the Missouri. This great river has its source in the mountains of rocks in the western part. Its banks are well supplied with wood.⁸⁰ There are found firs, pines, North American firs, birches, cedars, and every other tree.⁸¹ The buffalo and other wild animals rove in herds along its banks. Many little rivers that flow into it abound in beaver beyond all belief.⁸² The nation of the Crow, a numerous people, dwells along its banks and, higher up, in ascending toward its source, are situated several other savage nations that are still unknown to us. The savages assured me that it was very deep a long

⁷⁸ "A cent cinquante milles à l'ouest du Missouri, au-dessus de la nation des Gros-ventres, se trouve l'embouchure d'une grande rivière, appelée la *Roche jaune*. Ses bords abondent en boeufs sauvages, ainsi qu'en toutes sortes de bêtes fauves; elle est habitée par la nation du Corbeau, nombreuse, mais encore peu connue." Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 263.

⁷⁹ Called also "river a la Biche," because of the elk there. *Journal of Larocque* (Burpee, ed.), 55.

⁸⁰ "There is more timber in the neighbourhood of the junction of these rivers, and on the Missouri as far below as the White-earth river, than there is on any part of the Missouri above the entrance of the Chyenne river to this place." *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: 337.

⁸¹ The botanical knowledge of Lewis and Clark was far more adequate to the occasion than was that of Trudeau, as is evidenced by their wealth contrasted with his meagerness of detail. *Ibid.*, 337-338.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 343. Presumably, one chief object of Larocque's journey of 1805 from the Assiniboine to the Yellowstone was to determine whether the beaver were there as reported. *Journal of Larocque* (Burpee, ed.), 45.

embouchure: un Canadien nommé menard qui depuis seise années fait sa residence au mandannes, ou il est venu par le nord, et qui a été plusieurs fois chez la nation du Corbeau de Compagnie avec les gros ventres leurs alliés m'at assuré que cette rivierre etoit navigable avec de Grande pirogues aplus de cent cinquente lieuës au dessus de son embouchure, san quil s'y rencontrent aucunes chutes ni Rapides, il mettent ordinairement quinze à vingt jours d'une marche lante par terre pour se rendre des mandannes à la nation du corbeau, un fort Bâti à l'entré de cette rivierre seroit fort avantage pour ouvrir un grand commerce de pelleteries non seulement avec les nations situés sur les bords de cette belle rivierre mais encore avec celle qui parcourent les Bords du missouri au dessus de sa sortie, tel sont les Chiouitounes et la nation du Serpent, dont nous n'avons que de foible Connoissance, une

distance from its mouth. A Canadian, named Menard,⁸³ who, for sixteen years has made his home with the Mandan, whither he came from the north, and who has been several times among the nation of the Crows in company with the Gros Ventres, their allies, has assured me that this river was navigable with large pirogues more than a hundred and fifty leagues above its mouth,⁸⁴ without meeting any falls or rapids. They take usually fifteen or twenty days of a slow march on land to go from the Mandan to the Crow nation. A fort built at the entrance of this river would be very profitable⁸⁵ for the opening up of a large trade in peltries, not only with the nations situated upon the banks of this beautiful river, but likewise with those that roam the banks of the Missouri above its outlet. Such are the *Chiouitounes*⁸⁶ and the Snake

⁸³ Trudeau, in his "Second part," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 36-37, records sending a letter "to Menard and Jussaume who were living among the Mandans." It is supposed that this Menard was the same man, a Canadian, for whom Larocque reports a residence of forty years on the upper Missouri, and the same as he of the name who was murdered by Assiniboin in 1803. *Journal of Larocque* (Burpee, ed.), 17. Alexander Henry stated the facts of his untimely death and Lewis and Clark heard rumors of it when on their way to the Mandan in 1804. *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: 205.

⁸⁴ On the navigability of the Yellowstone, see John F. Finerty, *War-path and bivouac, or the conquest of the Sioux, a narrative of stirring personal experiences and adventures in the Big Horn and Yellowstone expedition of 1876, and in the campaign on the British border, in 1879* (Chicago [1890]), 230, and King, *Campaigning with Crook*, 90. In the Sheridan-Sherman inspection report, the Yellowstone is remarked upon as seeming to be, for almost a hundred miles, fully as large as the Missouri. *Ibid.*, 27.

⁸⁵ For the attempts of which this was an early forecast, see Chittenden, *The American fur trade of the far west*, 3: 957-958.

⁸⁶ Shoshoni.

Grande parties de la nation assiboine qui parcourt les terre Septentrional du missouri auroit bien plus près de venir trafiquer ses pelleteries a ce fort que non pas de les porter au fort des anglais de la riviere Rouge. —

Lapartie occidentale et Septentrionale du missouri de puis la Rivierre blanche trante cinq lieuës audessus des poncas jusqu'a cette rivierre que j'ai dit se jeter dan le missouri soixante leues au dessus de la rivierre des Chaguiennes n'est frequente que par les nations Siousse, appelés tithons, qui sont divisés en quatre peuplades Errantes; ils traversent aussi sur la partie occidentale de cette rivierre pour y faire la chasse des Boeuf sauvages et des Castorqui s'y trouvent en plus grand nombre que sur lautre partie. Les nations Siousse sont celles qui font le plus de chasse aux Castors et autre bonne pelleteries du haut missouri, il parcourent

nation of which we have only slight knowledge.⁸⁷ A large part of the Assiniboin nation, which roams⁸⁸ over the land north of the Missouri, would have a much shorter distance to come to trade its peltries at this fort than to carry them to the English fort on the Red river.⁸⁹

The western and northern part of the Missouri, from the White river⁹⁰ thirty-five leagues above the Ponca up to this river that I have said flows into the Missouri sixty leagues above the Cheyenne river, is visited only by the Sioux nations, called Teton, who are divided into four wandering tribes;⁹¹ they roam also over the west side of this river in order to hunt the buffalo and the beaver which are found there in greater numbers than upon the other side. The Sioux tribes are those who hunt most for the beaver and other good peltries of the upper Missouri. They scour

⁸⁷ It was to be a long while before any other report than that of profound ignorance was to be made. Alexander Ross was, of the prominent and influential Canadian traders, the one most appreciative of the potentialities of the Snake country. See Ross, *The fur hunters of the far west; a narrative of adventure in the Oregon and Rocky mountains* (London, 1855).

⁸⁸ "Les Assiboins," wrote Chateaubriand, "errent, sous divers noms, depuis les sources septentrionales du Missouri jusqu'à la grande rivière Rouge, qui se jette dans le baie d'Hudson." *Oeuvres complètes*, 12: 266.

⁸⁹ The Hudson's Bay company traders had penetrated to the Red river district about 1788. Davidson, *The North West company*, 69.

⁹⁰ "Depuis la rivière Blanche qui se jette dans le Missouri, à deux cent quarante milles plus bas que celle des Chaguyennes, jusqu'à une autre dont le nom est encore inconnu, à cent quatre-vingt milles au-dessus, toute la rive orientale est occupée par les Sioux ou Thons, divisés en quatre peuplades errantes. Souvent ils viennent sur la partie occidentale chasser les loutres et les castors, qui y sont en plus grand nombre que sur celle qu'ils habitent." Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 262.

⁹¹ Compare with a similar account as to the number in the Teton group. *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: 133; 6: 97-98.

toutes les rivières et les Ruisseaux sans craindre personne. Ils en élèvent tous les printems une Grande quantité de notre territoire qu'il vont échanger pour des marchandises avec les autres peuplades Siouse situé sur la Rivière St. Pierre et des moins fréquenté par les march^d de Canada, il seroit facile d'établir sur le missouri des magasins de marchandises pour leur fournir leur besoin et avoir le Commerce de leur pelleteries.

Les Sioux s'éloignent des bord du missouri au commencement du mois d'avril et y reviennent ordinairement. dans le Cour du mois de juillet & août, qu'ils parcourent des deux Côté jusqu'au printems, c'est le seul tems ou on pourroit passer les endroits qu'ils ont Coutûme de frequenter avec quelque sureté pour parvenire chez les nations situées sur le haut missouri. —

Tout les peuples sauvages dont j'ai fait mention dans cette description, c'est-à-dire ceux qui habitent à l'occident du missouri, sont les plus doux et les plus humains pour nous de tout les peuples de l'univers. Ils ont

all the rivers and the streams without fearing any one. They carry away every springtime, from out of our territory,⁹² a great number of them, which they exchange for merchandise with the other Sioux, situated on the St. Peter's and Des Moines rivers, frequented by the traders of Canada. It would be easy to establish upon the Missouri storehouses of merchandise to provide for their needs and to secure the trade of their peltries.⁹³

At the beginning of the month of April, the Sioux wander far from the banks of the Missouri⁹⁴ and usually return in the course of the months of July and August and scour its two banks until springtime; for this is the only time when one can pass the places which they are accustomed to visit with any safety in order to come among the nations situated on the upper Missouri.

All the savage peoples which I have mentioned in this description, that is to say, those which dwell on the west of the Missouri, are the mildest and the most humane toward us⁹⁵ of all the people of the universe.

⁹² The very similar statement in Trudeau's "Second part" is interesting. *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 462. The additional detail, which Du Lac gives here as elsewhere and which is frequently to be found in one part or the other of Trudeau's journals, suggests the possibility of his acquaintance with one and all of Trudeau's productions.

⁹³ A reference to the great object of the various expeditions of the time conducted under Spanish auspices — Mackay's, Trudeau's, and Evans'.

⁹⁴ "Trudeau's journal," in *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 463-464.

⁹⁵ In the "Second part" this excellence of character is most unaccountably ascribed to the Arikara and to them alone. *Ibid.*, 455. But, inasmuch as a reputa-

un grand respect et une Grande vénération pour tout les hommes blancs en Général qu'il mettent au rang de la divinitee, et tous ce qui provient deux est regardés par ces mêmes peuples comme des Chause miraculeuse. Il ne seavent point faire la distinction des nations policées, anglaise, francaise, Espagnoles &c. qu'ils nomment tous indifferemment hommes Blanc ou Esprits. —

le Commerce ce fait chez-eux tres paisiblement celui qui ne trouve pas assez de ce qu'on lui donne en echange de sa pelleteries la remporte sen

They have a great respect and a great veneration for all white men⁹⁶ in general, whom they put in the rank of divinity, and all that which comes from them is regarded by these same people as miraculous. They do not know how to distinguish among civilized nations, English, French, Spanish, et cetera, whom they call indifferently white men or spirits.⁹⁷

Trade is carried on with them very peaceably. He who does not think what is given him in exchange for his peltries is enough carries it tion for gentleness of disposition would be so completely out of accord with known facts told of the Ree by travelers then and long afterwards, the commentator is fain to assume that Trudeau unwittingly made a mistake when he wrote his journal and, realizing as much later on, availed himself of the earliest opportunity to correct it. As a matter of fact, there was never much difference of opinion among traders and travelers respecting the shortcomings of the Arikara. They were universally hated. The writer of the Loisel narrative sojourned among them, as did Trudeau, for a brief space, and his testimony swells the great mass of condemnation. It was quite otherwise with the Mandan. They won the approval, sometimes, at least, deservedly, of many visitors, a few of whom, like Catlin, went so far as to sentimentalize over them. Henry despised them; so also did Chardon, who spent many a long year in close daily intercourse with them. Although somewhat prejudiced, no doubt, he knew thoroughly well whereof he spoke.

⁹⁶ Were it possible to print here, in facsimile, illustrative pages of the journals and of the "Description" in order to attest the similarity in penmanship and in subject matter, this particular passage would be one to select. The corresponding passage on page 4 of the "Second part" (compare the manuscript in the state department) is strikingly like it.

⁹⁷ "Les Sauvages qui habitent la rive occidentale du Missouri, sont doux et humains avec les Blancs, pour lesquels ils ont une grande vénération, et qu'ils désignent indifféremment sous e nom d'Esprits. Le commerce se fait avec eux sûrement et paisiblement. L'on peut regarder comme règle certaine, que moins les Indiens ont eu de communications avec les peuples policés, plus ils sont bons, généreux, et bien-faisans à leur égard." Du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 263-264. "The Panis Ricaras are of a rather gentle nature; they respect and defer to the White Men. (I will hereafter make use of these words in the continuation of these *memoires* to designate civilized people; as the Indians of this country do not know any distinction between the French, Spanish, English, etc., calling them all indifferently White Men or Spirits.)" "Second part," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 24. "Those Indians who have had little or no intercourse with us are more civil, kinder, and more humane than those whom we habitually visit." *Ibid.*, 25

murmure ni menace. Enfin jedirai quayant moimême fréquenté toutes les nations sauvages situées a l'orient et a l'occident du missisipy et toutes celles qui habitent le bas missouri, jenai jamais trouvé aucunes qui approchent celle cy en douceur et en Bonne façon pour nous, il-y-a autan de difference des uns au autres que du jour a la nuit. —

away, nevertheless, without murmur or threat. I would say, finally, that, having myself visited all the savage nations situated on the east and west of the Mississippi and all those who dwell on the lower Missouri, I have never found any who approach these in kindness and good will toward us. There is as great difference between them as between day and night.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ "He who is not satisfied with what is offered him in exchange for his peltries carries them away without a murmur or threat. Indeed, I will say that having frequented all of the Indian nations living East and West of the Mississippi as well as those living on the lower Missouri, I have found none who approach these in gentleness and kindness towards us. There is as much difference between these and the others as there is between day and night." "Second part," in *Missouri historical society collections*, 4: 24-25; *South Dakota historical collections*, 7: 456. It will be noted that in the above Trudeau is still referring, although erroneously, to the Arrikara, the antecedent of "these." The "others" are indeterminate. The writer is inclined to the opinion that the even greater vagueness of reference in the "Description" is due to the fact that some of the context is gone. Trudeau was probably adapting certain portions of his journals to new purposes and was not entirely sure of his own facts.